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[838] [171] woman who dressed as a man and used to hunt successfully, though she was married. Such practices are said to have been not uncommon among the Haida. The women were considered bold and independent, but the Bella Coola of today know little about them, and are not even certain that *Spatz* is responsible for a female assuming the actions of a male. It will be readily understood that he is not regarded with much awe, nor does he influence their daily lives.

* [774] Another supernatural being, uninfluential though resident upon earth, is Echo, *Intsulâtl*, "The Voice Repeater." The [822] Bella Coola regard him as a male being, in human form, and recognize his presence whenever sounds reverberate. He figures in mythology, occasionally appears as a masked figure at [575] *kusiut* or *nusuâ* dances, but has neither helped nor harmed human beings for so many generations that he is accordingly neglected.

* 774 A supernatural being from whom many Bella Coola have 787 had unpleasant visitations is *Sîlhemsila*, the cause of nightmares. ● 828 He is a man-like creature with black face and an enormous head which he constantly scratches. His home is in *Nuxmâ-a*, but he frequently descends to this world and frightens sleepers. If a person scratches his head while asleep it is because he has just seen *Sîlhemsila* doing so, and if he walks in his sleep it is to escape this supernatural visitor. A sleep-walker is usually aroused by having a bucket of water thrown over him. A [751] person frequently troubled by *Sîlhemsila* can avoid him by painting a black circle around each eye before going to sleep.

* 774 With the exception of *Alqunûxw*, the supernatural beings thus far described play little part in the lives of the Bella Coola. They believe in their existence, but do not expect to meet them, and do not believe that they exercise much influence on the course of their daily life. Supernatural beings of this ineffective type are exceptional. A man goes into remote parts of the 781 mountains, or even into little frequented areas around his * 774 village, with mingled fear lest he encounter an actively malicious being, and hope that he may meet a benevolent one. More-

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one at Restoration Bay. He had reached the point where he needed help to turn the craft over, and one day, returning to his work, he heard the sound of many voices. He tarried for a few minutes, and when he reached his canoe it had been turned over as he desired.

On that occasion the beings who assisted the canoe-maker appear to have had definite form, and certainly to have displayed physical strength, but this extreme anthropomorphizing is unusual with respect to the assistance given to carpenters. The construction of a canoe is an arduous and difficult work; the person who has made one is regarded by his fellows with respect mixed with envy, and it is tacitly assumed that he must have received more than human assistance. Considering the number of anthropomorphic beings known to the Bella Coola, it is not surprising that some individuals should assume that the successful carpenter must have had assistance from one of them, but to other Bella Coola the explanation would be in the intangible help vouchsafed to him by some kind of supernatural power.

Similar intangible power is believed to be evident in a person's thoughts. If a man receive either good or evil from a comrade it is his duty and privilege to repay. He intends to do so, but only a good man can carry out the resolution. What a white man would attribute to forgetfulness, procrastination, or inertitude, the Bella Coola say is caused by the intervention of *Tsuqwalukaista*, who steals away his thoughts. It is doubtful whether this being is considered to have any definite form; rather he is a barrier, normally situated within the doorway of every house. The ideas of a strong man are able to surmount the obstacle, but *Tsuqwalukaista* obstructs those of a weakling, and directs him to matters of no importance.

Another intangible supernatural being is that which devours firewood. The Bella Coola say that no matter how well a fire may be provided with fuel when a person sits down to a meal, it is certain to be either out, or nearly so, when he has finished eating. The natural explanation does not satisfy

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of thought, of success and failure and of life itself, to powers of another sphere. Their ideas are not clearly crystallized on this subject, but in the following section an attempt has been made to give a fair picture, gleaned from many informants, of the supernatural parts of the human body.

THE SPIRIT

The most important part of the human body is the *sumenak*, spirit. This is small, but of great power, since it belongs to the world of the supernatural; in fact, the spirit of a man is not mortal, but *sint*. Everyone, man or woman, rich or poor, chief or slave, has one; without it, life would be impossible. When a child is born, his parents supply him with food and care, and *Alpuxtán* provides the even more necessary invisible elements, including the spirit. It resides in the back of the neck and resembles a thin bone shaped like a maple-leaf. Salmon have similar ones, but with them the bone is visible, whereas only shamans can see it in human beings. The spirit in a new-born infant is weak and powerless, but it increases in strength with the body. If a man prospers in his ventures and has success in life, it is due, not to his own efforts, but to the activity of his spirit. When a man acquires wealth with little labour, he knows that his spirit has been constantly trembling at the back of his neck; when he is unfortunate, that it has become inert or sluggish. It is the cause of dreams, which are desired as means of foretelling the future. Some Bella Coola believe that in sleep it leaves the body and travels, unrestrained by any barrier, to the scene of the dreams; others, that it causes the images to appear. During waking hours the spirit formulates every thought, no matter how trifling. When a man remembers that he left his fire with insufficient fuel and hurries home to rectify the omission, it is this element which has brought the need to his mind; when he thinks of a distant place, his spirit is responsible for the thought and some men even believe that it has travelled there. Sometimes an active one can give warning, as in the following instance. A few

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years ago a chief, when hunting, sat down to rest. While he sat a slide plunged down the mountain-side and swept away the ground where he would have been if he had not stopped. The Bella Coola know that such a fortunate escape is no accident, as foolish white men believe, but is the result of an active spirit. Sometimes it can convey only symbolic hints of what is to happen. An old Kimsquit man told how his lower eyelids once became sore and his stomach began to heave. This occurs with sobbing, so he knew that ill-fortune was before him and was not surprised at the death of his son. A thoughtful person pays great attention to indications such as these, knowing that his spirit is always striving to pierce the future and obtain information for him, however indefinite. The importance of the supernatural to the Bella Coola can be judged from the fact that they attribute every action and thought to an element of this nature.

Mentality, *nā̀*, though caused by the spirit, is somewhat vaguely regarded as a separate entity. It comprises two parts, one constantly urging to good deeds, particularly to activity in ritual matters, the other to evil. No one knows the appearance, if any, of human mentality. Some of the thoughtful older men hazard the opinion that every tree has mentality, whereas others say that it has a spirit. In former times especially, as one was falling, the cutters could occasionally see a dark object somewhat resembling an otter flash away and disappear. Not until then was the tree actually dead. Even the old people do not profess to know anything definite about mentality, which is important only as an attribute of the spirit. In indefinite connection with it, too, is breath, *sinimis*, provided by *Āsgunsīlus* for everyone at birth. The word signifies more than the material act of breathing, it denotes the actual physical state of being alive, a condition "lent" by *Āsgunsīlus* to mortals. The connection of these two elements with the spirit is unequivocal, though their exact relationship is indefinite.

If the spirit moves far from its proper position at the back of the neck, the owner falls ill; if it leaves him, his condition

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that tally posts have mentality, and suggested that it might be these which attend the gathering of the supernatural beings at the winter solstice instead of an element from the human body itself.

One elderly Bella Coola, of philosophical temperament, described *qwatlnusta* in terms far removed from the accounts of tally posts. According to him, every individual receives this supernatural possession at birth, and it remains with him, in close association with his body, throughout life. It stays in front of his face, invisible, yet having substance, and constantly shaking from side to side. If a man fails to receive a present at a potlatch, it is because his *qwatlnusta* has ceased to move. When stationary it is not transparent, and not only hides its owner from the donor's sight, but acts as a barrier to his thoughts. The same man stated that this element can leave the body, can be seen by shamans, and that it is the one which ascends at the winter solstice to *Nusmāt-a*. At death it is believed to accompany the spirit and the life to the land above.

There seems no reason to doubt that the concept of tally posts is an ancient belief. Nor does the application of the term *qwatlnusta* to another immaterial possession of quite another type destroy this probability. It must be remembered that within the last eighty years the Bella Coola have suffered not only from the tremendous upheaval caused by the coming of the white man, but have been reduced to a mere fraction of their former numerical strength by various epidemics. These factors have led to the partial forgetting of ancient beliefs, with consequent confusion. It is probable that the use of the same term for the tally post, intimately connected with an individual's life although situated in the land above, and for an invisible and intangible possession which goes in front of him, is due to this recent decay of ancient convictions. If this be true, it merely means that in former times the Bella Coola had yet another supernatural element to govern and influence their lives.

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hence repayment or non-repayment does not affect the standing of the debtor in the community. The giver expects no return, but should he come to financial straits he would have no hesitation in asking aid from the Bella Bella chief. He expects, moreover, that the latter will contribute to the expenses of his funeral. This would be optional, as repayment of a non-ceremonial present concerns the donor and recipient alone, without effect on the status of either in the community. In this instance, if the old man had died soon after his son, his debts would not have been paid, since there were surviving no immediate relatives. Sons or other near kinsmen always settle the debts of dead parents out of family pride, but it is considered most improper for the creditors to think about repayment. By giving they have shown their power, the question of return is the concern of the family of the deceased recipient.

Very rarely does the donor of a potlatch fail to return his investment presents except through oversight. In spite of every precaution, errors occur, and these are said to be caused either by a supernatural being, itself invisible, rising between the donor and his guest, hiding the latter, or by *Snuqualmkaista* stealing away his thoughts. Unless the donor wishes to insult a guest, he will give him presents later on, and that ends the matter. But if he does not do so, the slighted man may return the insult, and thus feuds are often generated that may lead to war between tribes. About 1860 it is said that a conflict between the people of Bella Bella and Rivers Inlet was caused in that way. In the autumn of 1921, a Bella Coola chief insisted on dancing at a Bella Bella potlatch, although it was commonly known he did not have the necessary goods for distribution to validate his dance. The hosts waxed sarcastic, taunts were answered by taunts, and only the presence of some white men prevented bloodshed. Relations between the two tribes are still strained as a result of this incident. The Bella Coola chief was subject to spells of insanity, and danced during one of these. According to the

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Bella Coola, the Bella Bella should have taken this into account, along with the man's generosity on previous occasions, and overlooked his remissness.

Cases have been known of a "stupid" man endeavouring to increase his prestige by giving many potlatches when unable to pay his debts. Such a one is laughed at for his stinginess, which is not the attribute of a chief, and is given only small presents.

It must be clearly understood that debts publicly incurred, in other words investment presents received at any ceremony, must be publicly returned, if the debtor is to gain the public esteem granted to one who pays back with interest. But everyone cannot give a potlatch; hence any young man desirous of returning his obligations, and of rising in public favour, can do so at a potlatch given by somebody else. Guests are present from abroad, so his discharge of indebtedness is made known farther afield than if he had done so at a local gathering, and the donor has the additional satisfaction of being able to give to these strangers. Sometimes as many as ten young men will ask X for permission to pay their debts at his potlatch. Such is never refused, because it means more ceremonial, and greater interest, which indirectly increase X's prestige. A young man who has been taken to a foreign potlatch as an adherent of a guest always receives presents, and if he repays these with interest his name begins to become known, especially as his return payments are unexpected. It is thus that a man whose chiefly name (or names) has been dormant for generations, can begin to restore it. Thanks to presents he gives at X's potlatch, he will in return receive large gifts, until finally he is able to give a potlatch himself. After X has paid his own indebtedness the debts of others are settled. In each case the speaker announces the amount received on such and such an occasion and the amount returned. Thus all present are able to estimate the generosity of the payer, a chiefly attribute. When a young man plans to give his first potlatch it is customary for the older chiefs of his village to advise whether he has

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boat caught fire, his goods were destroyed, and he, himself, barely escaped. The Bella Coola regard coincidences of this kind as confirmation of their beliefs. 763 825

As in the last instance, death does not always follow the hearing or seeing of an omen; it may simply presage some calamity. It is dangerous for a person to be addressed by a dog, although it is well known that dogs understand human speech and can talk if they desire. At the time of the writer's visit, it was a matter of general knowledge that a dog had spoken to a middle-aged Bella Coola woman a few years earlier. The animal was shot immediately, and the woman never revealed what it had said, but in spite of these precautions she became insane and has never fully recovered. [158]

The stone man, *Yuyulmxl*, near Kimsquit, who figures so prominently in Bella Coola mythology, is another death omen. In early times, all who passed his station used to call out to him, and it was thought that those whom he failed to answer would die within a year. In that case, the voice was welcome, but the speech of an owl is still regarded with dread. If one of these birds utters the name of a dead person, the individual hearing it will soon die. 763 [773] [825]

Besides these well-recognized omens, the Bella Coola believe that any peculiar visitation or hallucination is a probable precursor of disaster. In many cases these fears are unjustified, but there are always sufficient accidents and misfortunes to corroborate their belief. An old Kimsquit man told of the manner in which his son had once come rushing into the house saying that he had seen a strange, black-faced creature. His father feared that it might have been *Sxalarwax*. 763 828

"Perhaps it was," continued the old man, "for my boy soon died."

Irrespective of the actual cause of death, about which the father is uncertain, he is convinced that he knew of its coming by his son's omen-apparition.

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CHAPTER IX

RELATIONS WITH THE SUPERNATURAL

Introductory—Sterile Apparitions—Supernatural Aid Granted to the Unfortunate—Supernatural Good Luck—Shamanism—Direct Revelations from the Supreme God—Power Localized in Certain Spots—Dreams

Introductory

THE aspects of Bella Coola life thus far described have been principally of a nature which might be experienced by any member of the community. On the other hand, contact with supernatural beings is a privilege granted to individuals without respect to rank; even arduous appeal cannot assure it. The few to whom signal favours are granted acquire a position of importance totally different from that of chiefs. The Bella Coola are firmly convinced that supernatural beings abound in the mountains and forests of British Columbia, and that every activity of human life is governed by them. Not only do these creatures include monsters of the imagination, but birds, animals, and fish; even the activities of the human mind are considered to be beyond the scope of normal life. Ancient stories describing the actions of strange creatures and conversations between man and animals are accepted as truthful accounts, so that it seems obvious to the Bella Coola that his ancestors were more powerful than he is today. Never considering the possibility of errors in his stories, he accepts the alternative hypothesis that mankind has sadly degenerated from the golden age. Nevertheless, he assumes that the beings have not altered, and consequently hopes to encounter them on every occasion. Moreover, this firm background of belief makes it easy for him to recognize supernatural influence in events which a white man would consider to be natural. It is impossible to over-emphasize this concept.

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* [787] [535] [781] Dances portraying supernatural beings, carried out with full vigour until a few years ago, further fostered belief in them among participants and uninitiated alike. Consequently, many of the young and middle-aged men claim to have seen visions similar to those of their elders. The incident already described (I, p. 30) of the stump which was thought to be a grizzly bear is a case in point. On another occasion a young man mentioned casually that a few evenings before he had seen a headless man walking along the road and that, wishing to view the monstrosity more clearly, he had tried unsuccessfully to strike a match. The reason was obvious to him; the power of the supernatural visitor prevented the match from lighting. The man, who was undoubtedly convinced of the apparition, may have seen something, perhaps a whorl of fog, somewhat resembling a headless body. A white man would have considered such a sight impossible and absurd, whereas the Bella Coola felt little surprise at the appearance of such a creature and promptly accepted it for what it seemed to be. [154]

[828] Mental activities as well as optical illusions are likewise ascribed to supernatural agency. These include profound agitations of the mind, and even what a white man would consider a passing thought. For instance, one morning when about to start work, a certain man stated that he would have good fortune during the day, that a dream had foretold it. At the time he was moving to a new house and needed help to shift a heavy stove. During the course of the day a number of white men happened to pass by and stopped to speak to him; the stove was mentioned, they offered to move it for him, and did so easily and quickly.

"There you are," said the man, "I told you I was going to have good fortune today."

On another occasion the same man claimed to have felt that misfortune had happened to him and soon learnt that one of his sons had been arrested on a charge of drunkenness and disorderly conduct. The man affirmed that he had this premonition before being aware of its cause.

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The explanation of these manifestations of the supernormal, for such they are considered to be, lies in the conviction that every activity of the mind is due to supernatural causation, the functioning of the spirit. In the round of daily life there are always good and bad incidents; the person who wakes expecting to meet one or other before nightfall recognizes the fulfilment of his premonition in some small occurrence, and narrates it to his fellows as proof of what he had told them in the morning. In case of some major event, such as death or disaster, the Bella Coola assume that some previous indication must have been given. Looking back after the event, a man easily persuades himself that he "felt" a warning, and is more than ever convinced that his spirit, the cause of his thoughts, has supernatural ability.

Conviction in the near presence of the supernatural has had somewhat surprising results with regard to Christian Bella Coola. A man converted in middle life carries all the fervour and realism of the old religion with him to the new, and feels thoroughly familiar with the atmosphere of the Old Testament. Visitations, such as therein described, are similar to those experienced by his fathers and himself, and he scorns the white man who questions their literal accuracy. He continues to hear the voices of supernatural beings, and to interpret mental pictures as visions, but he ascribes them to the beings of the white man's religion. The following is a rather striking illustration of this point:

A number of years ago a devout Christian, who may be designated X, was a patient in the hospital at Bella Bella. In the same ward was a young Bella Bella lad whose sickness refused to yield to treatment. X, becoming interested in his neighbour, began to ponder about his condition, until presently he felt convinced that the sufferer would be better by seven o'clock the following morning, and told him so. A marked improvement was noticeable by the time predicted, but the white doctor foolishly (according to X) gave his patient some

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though they may be to the white man. It is hoped that the preceding illustrations, drawn from recent times, will explain the mental attitude of the Bella Coola better than incidents from folk-lore of the distant past.

Disregarding thoughts which, since they are caused by the spiritual elements of the human body, are ever present, relations with the supernatural may be divided into the following categories:

(1) Appearance of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. Strictly speaking, every fleeting sight of a supernatural being belongs to this category, but it will be convenient to describe only experiences of a peculiar kind, such as the Bella Coola call *qun·abālawadjutlaix*. Usually manifestations of the supernatural have certain effects; consequently, there are relatively few incidents of this kind recorded.

(2) Supernatural aid vouchsafed to a man or a woman in distress. There are many tales illustrating this, which are told and retold to the children. In most cases the assistance is given to one who has undeservedly, according to Bella Coola concepts, fallen into misfortune.

(3) Supernatural good luck. This may be obtained by anyone, and consists of the acquisition of a supernatural object to attract, not only fish and animals, as if it were a potent bait, but money and goods as well.

(4) Acquisition of shamanistic power, with or without the ability to cure the sick. This may be received from one of two sources:

(*a*) *Tlitcāplilān·a* or some other supernatural being.

(*b*) Ghosts, which are likewise supernatural.

(5) Obtaining prophetic powers direct from the supreme god. There are few instances of this, and none that is ascribed to a remote period. It is possible that all examples of this kind can be attributed to indirect Christian influence.

(6) Obtaining power from a supernatural being localized in a particular spot. This usually takes the form of succour when

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like power, and will tell their son to try the same method. In this way a descendant of shamans has a better chance to become one than anybody else. Another indication that a person is likely to become a shaman is to be wakened from sleep by a mouse. As he sits up, hastily, thinking that someone has called him, all that he sees is the disappearing rodent. Mice have a rather peculiar position in the eyes of the Bella Coola, since they believe that these animals regard themselves as superior to mankind.

"The food of mortals is our food," say the mice.

His parents now tell the boy that he is likely to become a shaman, and that he must accordingly take great care of himself. If he is an adult, he will begin to observe ceremonial chastity, and in any case will spend much time alone, avoiding the trivialities of life in the village, and will think little about mundane matters. At intervals he goes alone to the forest, especially to some spot beside a waterfall, the kind of place that supernatural beings frequent. Here he lies down, sometimes for several days, with evergreen boughs spread beneath and above him. These are clean and nullify the mortal odour so objectionable to supernatural beings, so that his chance of obtaining a visitation is increased. He does not know what may appear to him, but he carefully remembers his dreams[1] which, as his thoughts are centred on lofty subjects, are likewise about matters of importance. If his dream is sufficiently clear to warrant the term vision, the recipient should remain, fasting, for four days on the spot where it occurred, and should say nothing about it when he returns home. His strength increases with every vision, until at last, sometimes after a period of thirty years or more, he will obtain a real one and the power to cure a disease. Sometimes dreams come to him in the village, but they are more likely to occur in a secluded spot in the forest. It is impossible to obtain examples of these dreams since, for a long time, no one has been brave enough to seek

[1] The Bella Coola do not differentiate between mental images that appear in deep and visions seen during waking hours.

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* 756 775 787 shaman from the dead once visited the land of ghosts and learnt their needs. They informed him that food and clothing thrown on the ground did not reach them, and that in order to do so it must be cast on the fire. Instead of journeying to the land of the dead some shamans receive their powers from ghosts who ascend to this earth, as the following account describes.

539 * 756 775 787 [828] [755] Within the lifetime of an elderly Bella Coola informant, a certain woman, *Sitwalwalsla* by name, left her house one evening for a few minutes. When she came back she was crazy. Her face was green, her mouth and face distorted and twisted, she could only whistle when she tried to talk, and kept endeavouring to walk on her hands. Taking her blankets, she went through the motions of washing them, but instead of using water, she dragged them to and fro through the ashes of the central fire, until, utterly exhausted, she lay down. By these symptoms it was recognised that a ghost had stricken her with madness, and several shamans of the dead were called upon for help. For a long time their efforts were fruitless. Then one of them obtained some stained menstrual pads. While another conducted the frantic beating of sticks, the leading practitioner waved one of the pads through the smoke of the central fire and laid it, with hemlock bark and dyed cedar-bark, on the patient's face. After leaving it there a few moments, he took it off and, while the beating of sticks was stilled, threw it out the door. When this had been done four times the woman was restored to sanity. Later on she said she had seen the ghost of a certain *Tsiwaut*, a man recently deceased. Emerging from her trance she found herself in her house surrounded by numerous people and the shaman working over her. If he had not been able to cure her, she would have died; in fact, it was impossible to discover whether the Bella Coola regarded this woman as having been cured of an illness, or as having been restored from the dead.

Sitwalwalsla called for the singers to whom she sang four songs, relating what she had seen. They described how she stood by a fire in the land below, where the sun travelled from west to east, and where everything differed from this earth, though reminiscent of it. The singers learnt the songs, and it was to their music that the woman danced on later occasions. She was able ever afterwards not only to cure maladies caused by ghosts but to talk with them. For this purpose she was in the habit of lying down at night in the graveyard, looking down into the land of the dead which was open to her, and conversing with the inhabitants in a strange whistling language which the living could hear, but could not

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in his sleep, and hopes that it will grant him specific supernatural power. He realizes that he could increase the probability of obtaining this by ceremonial chastity, and believes that it would come to him if he went alone to the woods and lay fasting for some time. Another means would be to concentrate his thoughts upon the desired end, but X is too good a Christian to do so; he is in the unhappy position of knowing too much of two religions to be able to practise either unreservedly. Such experiences are not likely to occur to any but a man of high-strung, imaginative temperament, to whom dreams and mental excitements appear especially vivid. X is intensely religious, so that it is easy for him to interpret every phenomenon in terms of the supernatural. It will be noted that most of the dreams just described took place when he was sick, precisely the time when hallucinations are to be expected. They were more coherent than those of most Bella Coola, though the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

Most dreams are comparatively simple, and the information received in them is intelligible. They come to all, irrespective of rank or prerogative. Nevertheless, it is believed that an inheritable tendency runs in some families; this does not mean that all members of such a group dream constantly, but they are more likely to do so than others. Those occurring at the winter solstice are more carefully observed than at other times, since it is then that the supernatural beings decide events for the coming year and a man's spirit may be able to inform him of what has been decided. Consequently, as soon as *Alqunsin* enters *Nuxmăʻa*, wise men separate from their wives and concentrate on dreaming, hoping to learn what is in store for them. For instance, if a man sees himself seated before a large pile of goods, he knows that he will have the good fortune to do this during the coming year; on the other hand, if he foresees ill luck, it means that he will be unfortunate. Another time when dreams are especially desired is before the summer solstice when hunters in particular observe ceremonial chastity. This purification not only increases the likelihood of such

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+539 +787 hand, as if it had been a blow from a feather, and wrenched it from his opponent. Another of the brothers likewise struck at him with a pole, but again *Qwinao* seized it from his grasp. Then he stretched out one hand, caught the holder of the stick by the neck, and squeezed until the man's head parted from his body. In the same manner *Qwinao* killed two more of the brothers, allowing only one of them to escape. His bear friends had been in the vicinity, but help from them was not required.

Qwinao finished the construction of his olachen-weirs and then went back to his aunt's house. The brother who had escaped had already brought tidings of what had occurred, and the old woman, fearful of the consequences, angrily asked *Qwinao* why he had done such a thing. He quickly quieted her by reminding her that it was she who had led him to think of revenge by telling him of the reason of his father's murder.

Qwinao remained quietly at home for the rest of that summer and the ensuing winter, but early in the spring he began to build an enormous salmon-weir. The fame of his strength had spread far and near among the coastal people so that many of them came to assist him. The weir was rapidly finished and was a great success. With the wealth of salmon obtained, *Qwinao* was able to give numerous potlatches and took for himself the name *Lăliăkdja*. In course of time he married the daughter of *tyaxyuyut*.

Qwinao was a great inventor. The next winter he made a net for olachen, which he used with great success in the spring. It was the first time that this had ever been done and the pattern he used has since been copied by the Kimsquit people. The following winter his aunt, acting on his instructions, made the first small salmon-net. Not only are the invention of these two useful articles ascribed to *Qwinao*, but also the first use of the bow and arrow, as well as other valuable appliances. After a long life he died, but he is still remembered for his achievements.[1]

A NEGLECTED OPPORTUNITY

• [828] A few Bella Coola believe that supernatural experiences of the foregoing type tend to occur in certain families, although not with sufficient frequency to be called an inheritable characteristic. A middle-aged man who held this belief gave the following account of a personal encounter.

His father had obtained power from a black bear, and once when hunting he himself saw a track of which three footprints were those of a

[824] [1] The above differs from the usual tales of this category in that the participants are well known. In consequence their descendants take a family pride in it and tend to add it to the ancestral myth of the first *Smoaus*, perhaps improperly. Probably it is a tale that members of a certain family have sought to ascribe to their own ancestors.

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154 who has been "cured" of an illness, recovers; the man whose
771 death has been "caused" by magic, dies. An average white
789 man would consider such statements to be erroneous, but they not only figure in stories and beliefs, but some of them have been actually observed by the writer. The explanation lies in the susceptibility of the Bella Coola to suggestion. The conviction that he is to die so weakens a man that death often results; belief that he is to recover, aids a sick person to throw off the malady. This sentiment, intelligible in case of disease, is equally applicable in other matters. The child who has been [868] endowed with carpentry skill grows up with the conviction to assist his labours. Moreover, his relatives and friends are also aware of it, and he receives every opportunity to practise, so that the outcome desired is often the consequence of the act. 789 Though the Bella Coola do not appreciate that psychological
• 828 and sociological factors may be the real cause of the result,
[771] they realize the importance of the power of thought. For example, if a group of people is unanimous in wishing some end, or expects some event to happen, it is believed that their thoughts are strong enough to bring about its occurrence. The following examples illustrate this point:

It is said that when the white man first came to British Columbia, a tribe of Indians was living in a secluded valley, far to the south. As more and more settlers arrived, the occupants were driven from their homes and forced into the barren [787] mountains. One night, *Alquntâm* came in a vision to one of the natives, saying:

"I see what you desire; you want the white men to withdraw. You, yourself, are helpless. But if all your fellows wish the same, the white men will depart."

The man told all his friends and they agreed to concentrate the next night on their wish to expel the white man. A few failed to do so, and nothing happened. The second night there was the same lack of unanimity. The desire to drive away the intruders grew stronger in course of time, until one night this was the centre of the thoughts of all; next morning the white

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men had vanished. It is possible that in this particular case there was a belief that *Alquntăm* granted the wish when convinced that all had the same desire, but this element is often entirely lacking.

Belief in the power of thought is a concept which the investigator constantly meets in Bella Coola at the present day. For example, in 1921 a government official working in the valley, purchased a representation of a merganser which had been used in a ceremonial.[1] Although this should have been destroyed after use, no difficulty would have been raised if the transaction had remained a secret. Unfortunately, the buyer allowed the object to be seen by several Bella Coola and by some Carriers. This caused indignation throughout the community and news of it reached the Bella Bella, who concluded that the vendor would suffer disaster for allowing a secret object to be seen by the despised Indians of the interior. Within a year, his wife died. The Bella Bella believed that his sin had brought its own punishment, but the Bella Coola, who knew the details of the sale and did not consider the exposure of the article to have been the fault of the seller, attributed it to the power of the thoughts of the Bella Bella. They all expected that he would be punished; therefore he was punished; the expectation was sufficient to effect its own fulfilment. This incident was too fresh in the minds of several men to allow them to sell ceremonial objects to the writer.

The most common form taken by this conviction is with regard to death; if it is believed that a man will die, he is almost certain to do so. In June, 1922, a woman died in Bella Coola and her father claimed that she had been murdered by a certain man either with material poison or by magical means. He took no direct steps in revenge but stated emphatically that the man whom he suspected would die within a year. The threatened man knew of this, and more than once said that he

[1] The article, now in the National Museum of Canada, consists of a cloth and wood representation of a merganser canoe such as was used by Nanâlis in the beginning of time.

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754 would probably fall a victim. He became ill in May, 1923,
961 and, though treated by a white doctor, grew steadily worse
789 until he died in the latter part of June, three weeks after the
828 year had elapsed. All the Bella Coola firmly believe that this
[622] was due to the power of thought. The father of the woman was a powerful chief whose thoughts were accordingly potent, and some consider that his concentrated desires and expectations were enough to kill the accused, while others believe that his expressed statements convinced others of the result, and that it was their combined thought that caused the death. It usually requires the thoughts of more than one individual to lead to this effect. The doctor who attended this man stated that his patient had shown symptoms of melancholy and resignation during his last sickness; it seems clear that the expectation of death must have lessened his chance of recovery.

771 A prominent theme in Bella Coola folk-lore is the belief
954 that a person cannot long survive who has made himself un-
828 popular. It is sometimes stated that a magical means was
[538] employed to remove him, and this was no doubt often the case; a person who learns that a "medicine" had been employed to kill him is in no fit mental condition to counteract the power of suggestion, particularly if he knows that others are aware of what has been done. His death is regarded as proof of the efficacy of the means employed and the belief of others grows stronger. As already stated, this conviction still survives.

[648] When this ethnological investigation was being conducted, a point under discussion was whether or not the Kimsquit people should be allowed to live in Bella Coola. One chief took the lead in objecting and everyone expected that, having thus roused the ire of would-be immigrants, he would die. He did so soon afterwards, and it is universally believed that it was caused by the concentration of the hostile thoughts of the Kimsquit. Simi-

[784] larly, the potency of taboos is increased by the fact that since time immemorial the thoughts of everyone have been opposed to any infraction. Consequently, an offender is liable to punishment both for breaking an injunction and because he

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has gone contrary to something about which there has been universal agreement for generations. 771 754

To understand Bella Coola medicines it is, therefore, necessary to regard them as concepts deep rooted in tribal history, and made potent by the suggestibility of those who practise them. This can be most clearly illustrated with regard to those effecting death, but is equally true with regard to all medicines, whether curative or causative. 828 [784] [755]

There remain for consideration the sociological aspects of medicines. Knowledge of most remedies has been handed down for generations as the property of ancestral families. Some are acquainted with one or two "cures," some with many, and some with none at all. The name of the discoverer of a particular medicine is usually lost in antiquity, though it is often attributed to someone described in the family's myth. Like other possessions based on mythology, a remedy of this type can be practised by any member of the group to which it belongs. If it is observed that a certain individual is using one of these successfully, others will ask him to apply it for them. Payment is always expected, but the sum varies enormously, depending upon the efficacy of the remedy, the difficulty of operation, the generosity of the person benefited, and so many diverse factors that no general conclusions can be made. A patient may observe the details of the treatment, but unless he is entitled to it, he would never dream of using it himself. This is due not only to honesty, but to the conviction that only a person with the inherited right to a certain cure can perform it successfully. Rarely, such knowledge is sold or given away outright, but, like other possessions of an ancestral family, this usually leads to friction and jealousy on the part of those overlooked. Some of the simple herbal remedies are common knowledge and are used by all, since remembrance of their ownership, if it ever existed, has been lost. At the present time it is difficult to learn details of proprietorship of some medicines, but these are indicated whenever possible. 424 755 757 [614] [465] [614] [425]

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757 *For Head-ache*

Tie around the forehead a piece of dyed cedar-bark, undyed cedar-bark, or other similar material. No herbal remedy is known.

For Eye Trouble

Moisten the finger with saliva and rub the eyes with it.

For Baldness (two means)

(1) Boil cottonwood buds in water, causing the gum to exude. Skim this from the surface, mix with fresh olachen grease or oil obtained from sockeye salmon, and rub on the scalp.

(2) Rub on the scalp oil from olachen, dog-fish, or any kind of salmon. The best is grease from the liver (?) of a dog-fish, obtained by hanging the organ before a fire and collecting the drops which exude.

For Skin Irritation

Rub dog-fish liver oil on the rash or itching part.

755 828 *For Excessive Dreaming and Nightmare* (two means)

(1) Burn dried salmon beneath the bed of the person afflicted.

(2) Lie in a canoe which has been chiselled out to the right thickness but has not been widened and hardened by smoke. A mat is laid across for this purpose and the smoke directed beneath, thoroughly fumigating anyone lying within. An informant was so treated as a young man when he was greatly troubled by nightmares in which he used to see a huge head which so terrified him that he would leave his bed to rush around the house shrieking and tearing his hair. This medicine cured his trouble.

757 *For Canker*

Pound up a snail and rub on the sore spot within the mouth.

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that the proximity of such intensely human articles is enough to counteract and render powerless anything of a superhuman nature. Likewise, when a certain woman came in contact with the War-Party of the Tides and began to exhibit symptoms of insanity, she was cured by drinking water in which other women had squeezed out their menstrual pads. Another defence is the burning of dried salmon, fumigation from which is particularly effective for one who suffers from nightmares. Other remedies already mentioned are to cut the right leg and smear a bullet with the exuberant blood in order to kill a enemy, and to lacerate the inside of the mouth and spit to withstand a repulsing mountain.

The medicine most commonly taken is false hellebore, the use of which was learnt by some ancient shaman. At dusk a hunter should eat a small twig of it, raw; it draws from his stomach everything injurious, particularly women's hairs, which are abhorred by animals, and ensures him success on the morrow. If he takes too much of it, he becomes ill and must swallow the antidote, mountain goat grease or marrow. He should also carry twigs of the plant with him, ready either to swallow or throw in the direction of any dreaded supernatural being whom he may encounter. Eagle down and dried salmon roe are sometimes similarly used.

The powers of a person who has obtained supernatural ability, whether or not he is a shaman, can be destroyed by similar means. For example, a lad treated so that he understands the speech of ravens, will lose his ability if he eats food cooked or prepared by a menstruating woman, by one who has lost her husband within the last year, or if he passes through the hole in the floor used by an adolescent girl. The last Bella Coola with this skill was deadened to the meaning of the birds' croaking by lying near his sister one night for warmth, since her mere proximity was enough to nullify his power. This aspect of medicine merges with taboos. So, too, the power of an object can be destroyed by washing; an instance of this is

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*595 787 796 796 *Alquntám* enters and confers on *hactsi* matters with *Snawádzaic*, his assistant in affairs connected with his functions as leader of the supernatural *hahaiai*.[1] This being acts as announcer and intermediary with *Alquntám*, but himself lacks the power of initiating matters. The two discuss whether or not it is advisable to allow mortal *hahaiai* to perform certain dances of the type known as *hactsiwa* (II, p. 118), and if so, they transmit the necessary power to the earthly dancer who has the proper prerogative, thus enabling him to give a graphic representation of what is done in the upper land.

*595 796 787 796 535 This is the manner of the *hactsi* dances. Each portrays a performance given by one of the supernatural beings in the house above, or some other aspect of his activities. Each earthly dancer has as patron a supernatural being, usually the one who carries out the dance of which his own is a model, and between patron and protégé there exists a relationship by means of which the latter receives the power necessary to perform. To do so, the uninitiated believe that he must receive a *pus*, which can be translated as "call," from his associate above. Moreover, not only is each patron a supernatural being, but each is guided by *Alquntám* in the performance of the *hactsi* rites in the land above, which indirectly increases the prestige of the protégé.

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*595 787 796 796 184 [125] [1] The differences of belief of individual Bella Coola, dependent upon family traditions, is nowhere shown with greater clearness than in the naming of the leaders of the supernatural dancers. It is clear that the Bella Coola have no uniformity of belief, even in what might be regarded as fundamental concepts. One informant, well versed in *hactsi* matters, asserted that there are five supernatural leaders, *Alquntám* and his assistants, *Snawádzaic*, *Sxwaxlaic*, *Sxwaiáic*, and *Sxwaiáic*. Others were equally emphatic that *Alquntám* is the leader name of the supernatural dancers, and that *Snawádzaic*, *Sxwaxlaic*, and *Sxwaiáic*, are merely other designations for the same deity with regard to different functions. The beliefs have been collected during the investigation, by designating the supernatural dancers as *Alquntám*, and asking for whom he is assistant with respect to the *hactsi* powers. These two opinions are not as basically different as appears at first sight. A man is considered as having two, or more, personalities with respect to different rites in which he is called by different names. Since the supernatural dancer is regarded as a supernatural, who functions in diverse capacities, it is not difficult to understand how these are sometimes ascribed to different individuals, and sometimes to the one under different names.

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their form. In spite of what he may have seen, the lad cannot rid himself of the supernatural fears with which he has been surrounded from childhood, and the experience is mortifying to a degree. It may be that he has seen some of the whistles, and thereby knows that the strange sounds are made by men, not by supernatural beings. In this case he is shown their mechanism in detail, and warned of the dire fate which will befall him if he tells others of his knowledge. Fear impels him to silence, and at the same time he realizes that what he has discovered has placed him in a superior position to that of his former associates. He feels, too, that he has been admitted into the ranks of the society in which his father, grandfather, and ancestors have distinguished themselves, and that it would be desecration to make light of what they have held sacred. Finally, an initiate does not at first grasp the fact that all the rites are deceptions, and by the time that this is apparent to him he has become so thoroughly a part of the organization that he has no thought of betraying his associates, spurning a vital part in the complicated fabric of Bella Coola life, and exposing himself to ruin and death. A logical white man might think these considerations insufficient, but the existence of the society proves that the varied motives operate so strongly that a young man does keep silence. Some informants state that hypnotism was formerly used to ensure obedience.

The *kukwisut* are always ready to deal with an emergency such as sometimes occurs in spite of every precaution. It is remembered that about one hundred and fifty years ago during a dance at the village of Kimsquit, a figure, representing one of the supernatural beings, lost the misfortune to drop his mask, the earrings by which it was tied during more strength. The house was crowded with uninitiated to whom the deception at once became apparent. For a moment there was wild confusion, but the senior *kukwisut* rose to the occasion and closed the door, allowing no uninitiated person to leave. Then a *kukwisut* was sent out with a whistle which he sounded as if the supernatural being of which it was the voice was growing

A. McDougall, E. 5 (1915-1924) 1948
NBA Bellacoola NBA

[No Social Dance]

obey one prohibition; he must not sleep with his wife for four days.

Like a Cannibal, X is liable to frenzy for the rest of the ceremonial season. During this period he remains secluded within his house, and the uninitiated willingly avoid him, believing him to be morally deranged. He attends every *Hamat'sa* dance, where his brave madness helps to frighten the uninitiated. If strangers from Kimsquit or *Tal'o* visit Bella Coola, he at once becomes frenzied, rushes to the beach and screeches them, precisely as a Cannibal would do; in this case he must be pacified in the same manner. A Screecher always acts gaoler to recaptured screeched foreigners. If it is the first time that X has danced, he must remain secluded for the following summer, and give his ceremony the next winter. During the warm months he remains within the back room of his house, and though some of the uninitiated know of his presence, still believing him mad they do not intrude upon his privacy. The coming of foreigners during this period excites him to frenzy and he screeches them, irrespective of the time of year.

It might be mentioned that some Screecher names are indicative of the dancer's function, and others, such as "The Cause of Pain," have reference to his powers.

THE BREAKER DANCE

When a Bella Coola speaks of the four which *Hamat'sa* dances cause the uninitiated, he almost invariably cites in order the Cannibal, Screech, and Breaker dances. Endowed with these three prerogatives have no more privileges than other members of the society, nor are they considered superior in rank, but similarity in their functions leads to an almost automatic association. If questioned further, a Bella Coola will usually say that he regards the Cannibal dance to be first, with the Screech and Breaker equal, but less important. Breakers share with Cannibals and Screechers the prerogatives of not blackening their faces, of having as theme for their songs the land

[The Breaker Dance]

THE BELLA COOLA INDIANS

X is one of the few *kukusiut* having the prerogative of supernatural singers. The evening's ceremony concludes in the usual fashion.

Until the departure of his call, X is liable to fits of frenzy. He cut on both *qutlm* and *nuluxaw* he often visits every house and breaks utensils, though his guardians appear to be making some effort to restrain him. Breakers, irrespective of their sex prerogative, are enabled to act in any unusual manner they desire, and strive to excel in peculiar behaviour. A favourite trick is to smear themselves with excrement, either in or imitation. It is difficult to over-estimate the enormous prestige which such actions call forth in the eyes of the uninitiated, to whom it appears that the coming of a call entirely alters the mentality of the recipient, a belief which the *kukusiut* make every effort to maintain. Nothing further need be said of either *qutlm* or the preliminaries of *nuluxaw*, both of which follow the usual pattern.

When the uninitiated are admitted to X's house on *nuluxaw* evening, they are filled with wonder at the sight of the masked singers, of *Sâwâlyumdâlx Âlqumâm*, and of the four supernatural Breakers who move wildly to and fro as the songs are sung, as if only the eagle down which the *kukusiut* blow upon them restrains them from destroying property. The fluent *Sâwâlmalaix* makes the most of her opportunity to describe the wonders which are before their eyes. Then the uninitiated are told that it will be safer for them to withdraw, and hurry out. Presently they are startled to hear the sound of people coming, and the four supernatural Breakers, followed by all the *kukusiut*, leave the house and proceed to the lowest one in the village. Around the fire go the masked four, picking up stones and hurling them at any destructible property. Most houses contain a number of stones which have been used in boiling liquids, so that there is no lack of missiles. *Kukusiut* who are wise take care to hide or remove valuable property before this inroad begins, since the wearers of the masks take advantage of the opportunity to destroy the goods of those

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Ealulimut: *Kwakiutl* name of a *Nuxalk* man.
Ealulʼnimut: *Kwakiut* name of a Bella Coola man.
Eeqsil: Inner bark of cedar.
Eetsimut, "A Stripping Off": The giving, on demand, by a marriage dancer of his clothing to a herald.
ʻEewaqaiskis: Supernatural name of Raven.
Ememis, "Frenzied": Term applied to Cannibals and other destructive *Sukwiat* when in a state of madness.
Epeem: Occasional exclusion of all but the singers from a house where a shaman is performing.
Eqwaxwaxkais: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.
Eswaxmus: *Kwakiut* name, probably of *Kwakiutl* origin.

M

Maʻalus: Female dancer mentioned in a Raven story.
Malakiut: *Kwakiut* name of a *Kemgaʻis* man.
mamā, mamūs, mamus: Mother, term used by children.
Mamaqus: Celebrated *Xenaxis* hunter.
mas-alqa: Butterfly.
mas-alka: Measuring worm.
mas-a: Fly, insect.
masʻmamus: Swamp gooseberry.
mās: 1—Father, common term in indirect address.
2—Occasional designation for the supreme deity.
matsilmus: Soapberries.
mawimuk: Elderly male relatives of same exogamic family.
Mayaq[*ut*]: 1—One of the first men to settle at *Nalkun* in the beginning of time.
2—Form of the name *Dudayaq*[*ut*] when used by a male child.
Mayaq[*ut*] *as a*: Form of the name *Dudayaq*[*ut*] when used by a female child.
Mayaqtalmuk: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
Mellqaymuk: One of the supernatural Carpenters.
mesqi: Measure of distance equal to the breadth of one thumb plus one finger.
*mes-sq*ʻ: Toad.
metsqus: Supernatural giant toad.
mialus: Salmon eggs.
mis-mulu: Old male sea-lion.
mis-sutsklus: Water weed.
Mogwaxus: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Mokwaxilus, "Long Neck": One of the supernatural women of Great Blue Heron.
mqaxsut: Co-husband in a polyandrous household.
mq'amal: One of the paralleys.
mqaqal: Berry, black in colour.
Mqmaxsklimus: Generic term for the four supernatural Carpenters.
mqsmilkly: Spruce.
Mtaʻalus: One of the first men to settle at *Nalkun* in the beginning of time.
Mtlakamu: Land of salmon.
Mtʻulu: Mountain in the upper Bella Coola valley.
mtlux: Stick carried by hunters when penetrating into the mountains.
mulkʻu": Red huckleberry.

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[719] *Nanaxnyamux*: Women endowed supernaturally by *Awi'ltsaalaxa* and serving as patron (?) to a *haxixt* dancer.

nanalilaix: Omen of death.

Nanaxnemdmum, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Tsiaxpilitsa*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nanaxnemkaix: 1—Man dwelling in *Kwaxpa*'s house.
2—*Haxixt* name of a Kwaxpaix woman.

nanaxpiw: The cry of *hi, hi*, uttered by Cannibals.

Nanaxsmay: *Haxixt* name assumed by a *Dzoxa* woman in the beginning of time.

[424] *nanayaxmun*: *Haxixt* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *galiowa* is obscure.

Na'nemkumaxsis, "The Widower": One of *Kwexa*'s names as child.

[585] *nanjiscalid-an*: Synonym for *jiscalixm*. Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Naqhaxsiskiaxs, "Shoulderly Deer": Name taken by a wife in consequence of rights received from her husband's relatives.

[302] *naqhaxsnim*: The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a top-knot.

naqsalaxa s: Medicine brewed in a skull.

Naqsiyaxis, "Place of Much Rhubarb": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Naqsqaxsa: *Haxixt* name of a Kwaxpaix man.

Naqtlaxaxilaxa s: One of the first women to settle on Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

[305] *naqtsaxsa-t na xaq*ᵂ*alx*: One year.

[328] *naqsus*: Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogatives.

naqtsil, "Empty House": House in which a *haxixt* dancer is taking place.

naqtsilus: The drowning of grease on a fire to burn, both literally and figuratively, a dead.

[821] *Naqtsulᵂ*: 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

[827] *naqtsilxus*: Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

naqtsnaxs: Hoot-like cry uttered on the coming of a call for *hamsam* and other important *haxixt* rites.

[777] *naq*ᵂ*tsnemlilas*: Unexpected stroke of good fortune.

Naqtsnkaxsis: *Hamsil* name of a Kwaxpaix man.

[772] *Naqtsulus*: Site of an ancient town on Johnson Pass.

Naqtsulx: The upper heavens.

naqtsus: Women with thick pubic hair.

Naqtsuxsdzilaxa s: *A Dzoxa* ceremony.

Naxalpaxmkaxsis, "Where *Hiqaxsiwa* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

[824] *naxalqaxsa-nay*: Cottonwood bark.

Naxlqaxsil-an, "The Plate for Combing Salmon": Name assumed by *Dzoxa* in the beginning of time.

naxlqaxsay: Canoe-maker.

Naxlaxsus: River entering the Bella Coola from the south near *Naqhaxsis*.

[585] [649] *naxlxilaxay*: Children's dance which serves as training for *haxixt* rites and to provide entertainment.

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[534] *nuhsimis*: Synonym for *gunu'o*, the large cone-shaped scaup whistle.
Nuhsi-qut: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nuhsi-kut: Side valley of the Kimsquit River.
Nulqaytchum-a, "Thorns River": River flowing from the north into the northern corner of the head of North Bentinck Arm. The Anglicized form is Nalbeltcheen.
nu'nqulelo: Name supernaturally born from another at sea level.
Nunsi'ut-a: Lammy village.
Nuwalah, "The Mother of Dogs": Name given to a Bella Bella woman in an ancient story.
Nuxalk: Bella Coola valley.
[101] *Nuxalkmcx*: Inhabitants of the Bella Coola valley.
Nuyim: Earlier name of a Dean man.
Nuzzm: Name of a Kimsquit newspaper.
Nyaskwaiem, "The Light Giver": One of the names of the supreme god.
nyaqu': Light.
Nyatin: Earlier name of a Bella Coola Carrolhul.
Nyatsmiddzin: Ki'gax name of a Kimsquit man.
Nyaxwalaxsa-a, "Stick Breaker": Name taken by daughter of the first settlers at Alert in the beginning of time.
[825] *nyaz-axsmit*: Mountain goat with long hair on its chest.
nyaz'ilmet, "The Silent Night": The festival assemblage of behavior after departure of a Carrolhul.
[227] *nyaz'imaxtsa*: Cross-piece which holds upon mouth of shallow net.
Nyazmalin: Village on Dean Channel below Kimsquit.
[585] [425] *nyazwalaxsdamas*: Public promise by the parents of bride and bridegroom on the wedding night that names will be provided for unborn children. This is combined with an account of origin myths. The term is also used for a similar promise of rights to hunting grounds, although the granting of this is more secret.
● [828] *Nyaz-x*: Mountain near Dean.
nyaz'ulalaqmut: Person who wanders away from home to dependency.
Nyaz'ulalin: One of the first women to settle on Dis in the beginning of time.
Nu'yus-xaim: Level of subsoil.

●

o'alqum: Kimsquit name for *o'lah*, eulachon.
O'ol: Lummy had mentioned in an ancient story.
[824] [243] *olut*: Grass with edible roots growing on tide flats.
Olpiemtin: Valley pre-empted by one of the first settlers at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
o'qulelmut: Herald who came down to the Dean River in the beginning of time.
olu: 1—The factor prerequisite of something.
2—Bad, unfortunate.
Oluta-i: Earlier name of a Stuart man.
Oltkuyem, "The Worthless One": Name assumed by a woman in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.
[825] [24] *Omkalmeet*, "The One that Changes Itself": Supernatural name of spring salmon.
omtsuk'il: Assemblage of the people for food of any kind.

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Aimsqaid: One of the four men to settle in the Dean River valley in the beginning of time.

Ainsemaid: 1—"Right Hand": Name of a *Dean* supernatural derived from a supernatural creature.
2—Earlier name of a Bella Coola woman.

a'nu'ncta: Intangible *Ancient* prerogative of initiating action. [424]

ahkhlakwatc: Song sung by a *Ancient* dancer on recovery from apparent death. [861]

ahlitsa: Regular beatings given to a male child. [805]

Ahpitkwa, "Time for Gathering Fern Root": Fourth moon after the summer solstice.

Ahpukwaitc: Rain after snow, unaccompanied. This presumably refers to rain that comes after violent thunder. [821]

Ahpukwaitc di Xist, "The Gathering of the Supernatural Beings": Fifth moon after the summer solstice. [805]

aqwaalqut: Term of opprobrium applied to one who will not allow his children to perform ceremonial duties. [626]

aqwash: Outright removal of a prerogative or marriage. [425]

atsatc: Departure to a new locality. [601]

ati, tsaatsa, atsati: Father's brother or mother's brother. [501]

atsat: Public. [778]

atqaitsa: Dangerous power such as is present at various perilous places.

Atlhaxatc: One of the names of the supreme god.

Atsilag: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman.

atsi, tsaatsa, atsat: 1—Any supernatural being, the significance being "Learned."
2—Supernatural power of any kind. [825]
3—Synonym for *qaaxa'a*, the large wood whistle.
4—Killer whale.
5—Song.
6—Earlier name of one of the four men to settle at *Kimsquit* in the beginning of time.

Atsiwa'a: Part of a peculiar superstition.

Atsumaitla: Celebrated Bella Coola warrior. [538]

atsumaitlas: Wrestling chorus.

Attaltsa, "Where Canoes Are Left": Village on the upper Kimsquit River.

Attatl: Celebrated *Dyalbonex* chief living in the last century.

attaltlatsa: 1—Expedition without definite objective, made by a shaman [525]
person. [484]
2—Individual making such a journey.

Ayaaxa'a: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Earlier name of a Bella Coola woman.

ayatsa kaaxtsa: Place where healing power is purchased.

Ayatsqinaxcux: Synonym for *Mukwilla*, the supernatural being connected with *grizzly bear*.

ayaxtsaqay: Earlier dance or object used in the last chorus which serves as pattern or model, statuettes, for the new's potlatch or work.

ayaxtsaxtsaxtsa: Animal goods used for the "Opening," the first public ceremony [574]
[848]
event of a forthcoming marriage.

ayaxtsi: Unsanctified warfare.

ayaxtsu: To perform the services of a herald to a woman, especially the proper direction of all chiefly rites. The word *ayaxtsu* may be connected with this.

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[192] *ăm*: Supernatural good luck.
[232] *ămănic*: Fog.
[225] *ămp*: Pack-rat.
amk: Mind or mentality.
[226] *ămpăm*: Plank of lucky drift, and so a point where whales drift ashore.
ănănăkăltăm: Cannibal society spurned from the land above.
Ănănăkăltăm: One of the first women to settle at *Stălle* in the beginning of time.
[225] *ănsal*: Mountain.
ănsăk or *ănsăkăm*: Salmon, generic form.
ănsăpăxnăkăm: (Probably) vision of an animal, *orchaic*.
Ănsăxnăkăm: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
[178] *ănsăxnăm*: Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by anyone.
Ănsqăm: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.
[222] *Ănsŭl'ăxnăm*: Bella Coola chief.
Ănsqălămănăm: Darkness, anthropomorphized.
[223] *ănsŭlăm*: Anger.
ănsŭm: Sun.
Ănsŭmălăm: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *Stqălăsl* in the beginning of time.
Ănsŭmălăm: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—Full name of a Kimsquit man.
4—Shaml name of a Kimsquit man.
Ănsŭmăx: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.
[227] *ănsŭlc*: Moose.
Ănsŭl, "Moose": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
ăpăkănăm: Game played with miniature spears.
[375] *ăpănăk*: 1—Feature commonly associated with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.
ăpăsăl: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a *double-headed* salmon.
Ăpăxnăkăm: Woman's name of a *head* woman.
ăpăsăl: Prayers, invitation to all to the owner, given by *Nănăpălăm* to the new longhouse.
[140] *ăpăxnăm*: Father's sister or uncle's sister (in either direct or indirect address).
[370] *ăpăxnăm*: The ceremonial enough acquired by a child through the repurchase of *his mother*.
[49] *ăqăpăl*: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.
[382] *ăqăpăl*: Western dock (plant).
[124] *ăqăpăxnăkăm*: Sanctuary.
ăqăqăpăltăm: Distribution of property tasks prior to a potlatch.
[125] *ăqăxnăkăm*, "Food Supply": Synonym for *saf'ăkum*, ancestral hunting-ground.
[124] *ăqăl'ăm*: Porcupine.
[124] *ăqăl'ăm*: Black huckleberry.
[121] *ăqăltăm*: Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

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xnā'ā: A place of petrified power, i.e., a locality where a supernatural being has been rendered incapable of moving. [778]

xnāl'ā: xlnaxsta, "Petrified Name": Designation brought from above in the beginning of time.

xnē'kt: 1—Mussel. [825]
2—Freshwater mussel.

xnexnenuk: One of the thrushes.

xnupēmūs: An animal, especially a bear, showing a kindly disposition towards man.

Xnūkūk: Xnūx-ax-i man mentioned in an ancient story.

xnūsk': 1—Gum.
2—Name of sea made by Raven in the beginning of time.

xnūy: Slave.

Xnuyūkūlā: One of the first men to settle at *Xnūlā* in the beginning of time.

xnūyum: Visionary receiving power direct from the supreme god.

xnūnūlwqs: Worm or larva living under the ocean.

Xnūnūlkmax-a: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.

Xnūnūs: Supernatural being who holds earth in position.

Xnūtmax-a: Supernatural woman who restores those who suffer misfortune in the performance of *kusiut* rites.

Xnwūlk'lkx: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola woman; it was obtained at *Tū'ūs* in the beginning of time.

xnwuy: 1—Mythical monster.
2—Man living at Kimsquit in early times.

xnwqax dī xnq'ūdzī: Posts of the sun, the barriers which cause it to retrace its course at the solstices. [821]

xnwqax wa xnwūlx: Variety of *xnwuy* living above tree line.

Xnūyxnūlnūlxnūx: Stealer of thoughts, an invisible barrier within the door which prevents a man from carrying out a potlatch by robbing him of his good intentions. The concept is anthropomorphized as a supernatural being. [828]

Xnu-ūlklūy: Island south-west of Bella Bella.

Xnu'ūlnūlx: Xlquxtūm: Deer sent of the supreme god.

Xnu'xnūpmūy, "On the Point": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

Xnupūlkqs: One of the names of Great Blue Heron as chief.

xnu'xtpxnu: Ceremonial collar of hemlock bark, dyed cedar-bark, and undyed cedar-bark such as is given to *Nūnxpūlūlax-a.* The word may refer to the throwing of this on the fire. [824]

xnuqnu'uk: Unidentified berry.

xnuklūmūlx: Top used by one of the sons of the supreme god.

Xnuklūmūlx: Supernatural being resident above who has the power of causing things to rise up and come to him.

xnuklūnūy: Part of house behind fire. [824]

xnuklūlūk: Unidentified plant.

xnuklūnūl: Piece of wood, rolled hard and smooth in a lenticle.

Xnukwxnūnūlk: Chief of supernatural singers who accompany *Nūnxpūnūx.*

xnukwnūlk: Twin.

Xnulqulqūlx: 1—Cannibalistic supernatural woman, formerly resident in the supreme god's house.
2—Old woman resident in *Xnuqnux-ūnūx's* house.

Xnunux-ūnūx: Locality containing repository of sauns received from Death.

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shapalika': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
fast runner: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
gmag^a: That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
hemaas: 1—Sheep, a supernatural being. [579]
2—Sheep, intangible *hemiat* prerogative. [585]
miiswalas: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [431]
Ixpamukulkai, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [412]
ax gat: Shadow. [601]
saxpawas: Hammer, archaic.
sukas: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law.
Sisiutalas: Shaman's witch with power of life or one soul and death or the other.
sulus: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
xsip: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
xtila: 1—Caribou hide. [825]
2—Thong made of caribou hide. [285]
xtsaxa: Cheques-work under-hock marking. [832]
xtsela: Caribou. [828]
xtsesi: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients.
Xtsesilis: Supernatural being who causes nightmares.
xtsesta or *xtsestatalas*: Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
xtsestalikuu: Body.
xtsestasalkuu: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Xtsesu-nukulaxa-a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Xtsesu-nukulaxaas: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
Xulus: Mountain goat grease. [824]
xtsilqua: Canoe.
Xtsiyuk, "Where Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Xtsulis: One of the four settlers at Grease Bay in the beginning of time. [825]
xtsuta: Grampus. [386]
Xtsuxulalus: One of Raven's female Crow relatives.
xtqaqawas: Red rock paint.
xtsla: Singer's harness.
xtsulk: Yew. [829]
xtsu-qaus: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones. [211]
xuala: 1—Memorial post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [764]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [262]
Xuus: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story.
xuxuus: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
yaqaxalis: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
Yek, "Raincoats Dripping through the Roof": A supernatural being.
yekulik: Black raspberry. [824]
yukuts: Grease.

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go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children. 586

When a person has died the corpse is washed, the face painted red, the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nearest ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The canoe of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, headdresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the column. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by as many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the house of the dead, is believed to be.

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they shower four small trees and creep through the cleft, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, cleaning new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones.

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go over water, and are forbidden to wash or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or chickens. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person.

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relatives invite the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion strange a mourning song for the deceased and give away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was the same as giving away the house of the deceased."

Religious Conceptions.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say as

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By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy.

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Esq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as in the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Esq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself.

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: "When an Awikv'enox wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountains where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Mt'lem) who will initiate him. So Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way."

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek'a'a of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 112), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soiled by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called cmk. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms.

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If meat is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is hot, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die.

I will have a few current beliefs:—

Humming indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry.

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die.

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky.

Wars.

When a war party was equipped the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and adorned their